

THE HEROES OF PHYLE

Upon these men the crown of valor
Was placed by Athens' ancient people;
They were the vanguard of those stalwarts
Who crushed the cruel tyrants' power
And lawless rule; nor shunned they peril.

Only modest public honors were granted to Thrasyboulos and the small group of patriots who were the first to join him in his fight for the return of freedom and democracy in Athens. He and his friends, while living as refugees in Thebes, understood the execution of Theramenes as an indication that the rule of the Thirty had turned into a desperate tyranny. These exiles trusted that Attika was full of truly democratic citizens who disapproved of the terror that had swept over their country in consequence of the military defeat of Athens and the subsequent occupation by the army of the enemy. But the desired downfall of these well-established forces required more than disapproval, and Thrasyboulos was determined by a courageous effort to turn this silent hostility into open revolt. He had not trusted in vain either in the democratic spirit of his fellow-citizens or in the hatred aroused by the Thirty against their own rule. And yet the importance of the heroic action of this small group of men must not be underestimated; they turned despair into hope and inertia into courage.

It was in the early winter of the year 404/3 B.C. that Thrasyboulos set out from Thebes accompanied by seventy men.¹ He crossed into Attika and arrived in the mountain deme Phyle, a place that could easily be defended from all sides.² The news of Thrasyboulos' arrival spread, and, in spite of the military measures taken by the Thirty, his small group increased daily. Some thirty men joined him even before the Oligarchs were able to launch their first attack, and for their share in the victory these men were given the same honors as the seventy who had come with him from Thebes.³ There is no reason to assume that all of these men were Athenian citizens;

¹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 4, 2; compare R. Ziebarth, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 33; P. Cloché, *La restauration démocratique à Athènes*, pp. 13 ff.; A. G. Roos, *Klio*, XVII, 1921, p. 13; P. Foucart, *Mém. Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, XLII, 1922, pp. 325 f.; G. de Sanctis, *Riv. di Fil.*, LI, 1923, p. 292; J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 1, p. 9; W. S. Ferguson, *C.A.H.*, V, p. 369; Busolt-Swoboda, *Staatskunde*, p. 915; G. Colin, *Xénophon historien*, p. 57; W. Schwahn, *R.E.*, s. v. Thrasybulos, col. 571, 20 ff.; G. Glotz, *Hist. Grecque*, III, p. 56; Th. Lenschau, *R.E.*, s. v. οἱ τριάκοντα, col. 2369, 9 ff.

² See W. Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, p. 222.

³ See P. Cloché, *op. cit.*, p. 15; P. Foucart, *loc. cit.*, p. 326.

it is quite likely that a goodly number of them were metics.⁴ Finally, Thrasyboulos felt strong enough to leave the mountains and to occupy the fortress of Mounichia. The outcome is well known: Athens was first freed from her military occupation and later she regained her full constitutional freedom.

This general introduction provides the background for the following report concerning the rediscovery of the stele erected in honor of Thrasyboulos and his companions.

The only literary account of the public honors granted to the heroes of Phyle is given by the orator Aischines in his speech against Ktesiphon delivered in the year 330 B.C.⁵ After referring to the memorials of the Persian Wars which were erected in the Agora, Aischines says (III, 187): Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἣν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα νικήσας Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῇ πρᾶξει κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην, ὅσοι ἐπὶ Φυλῇ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβούσι Φυλὴν After a short digression, Aischines continues (III, 190): Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσιν.

Τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων
 δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους
 θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλεως πρῶτοι καταπαύειν
 ἤρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

The account of Aischines seems to be based on the contents of a single document that was inscribed on a stele set up in the Metroön, and which contained the honorary decree, the name list, and the epigram.⁶ Each of the men honored received besides the crown of olive a gift of somewhat less than ten drachmas to be used for a sacrifice and for an offering.⁷ More than a hundred names were inscribed in the name list—

⁴ See P. Cloché, *op. cit.*, p. 460; P. Foucart, *loc. cit.*, p. 326; G. de Sanctis, *loc. cit.*, p. 292; H. Friedel, *Der Tyrannenmord*, p. 61.

⁵ A short reference to the crown of olive given to Thrasyboulos is made by Cornelius Nepos, *Thrasybulus*, 4, 1: Huic pro tantis meritis honoris corona a populo data est, facta duabus virgulis oleaginis.

⁶ Compare H. von Prott, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, p. 39; A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, XXI/II, 1922/4, p. 168; P. Foucart, *loc. cit.*, p. 325; G. de Sanctis, *loc. cit.*, p. 292; H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 73; H. Friedel, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁷ A fourth-century honorary decree from Oropos (W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, no. 298) provides that ten drachmas should be paid to each of the ten honored men εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀνάθημα, and the publication formula indicates that the preserved stele was not the ἀνάθημα. For a discussion of the

thirty more than the number given by Xenophon, and these thirty men may have been democrats who joined Thrasyboulos in Phyle, but did not come with him from Thebes. The discussion of both the date and the significance of the Archinos decree has been greatly complicated by the discovery and study of a document (*I.G.*, II², 10) that is unquestionably related to, but certainly not identical with, the Archinos decree.⁸ This document (*I.G.*, II², 10) is now commonly dated in the archonship of Xenainetos (401/0 B.C.), and it is assumed that it revived, in moderated form, the grant of citizenship to all metics who actively fought for the return of democracy, a grant that originally had been proposed by Thrasyboulos himself, but which was successfully opposed by Archinos. Without going into detail, it may be suggested for consideration that the preserved document is in fact part of the proposal made by Thrasyboulos and contains on the reverse a small fraction of the once long list of names of those who would have received Athenian citizenship. It is strange, indeed, that the cancellation of Thrasyboulos' proposal is recorded but that no literary evidence remains of the fact that virtually the same proposal became a decree only two years later.⁹ Whatever may be the verdict on this hypothesis, there is no reason to assume that Archinos waited for two years, until 401/0 B.C., with his proposal to honor the heroes of Phyle.¹⁰ It is much more likely that the honors for Thrasyboulos and his companions were proposed and granted immediately after the re-establishment of democracy at Athens, during the archonship of Eukleides, in the year 403/2 B.C.¹¹

same provision in the Archinos decree, see R. Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 31; H. von Prott, *loc. cit.*, p. 39; P. Cloché, *R.É.G.*, XXX, 1917, pp. 387 f.; A. Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 160 and 169; W. S. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 375; G. Colin, *op. cit.*, p. 96; W. Schwahn, *loc. cit.*, col. 572, 10 ff.; H. Friedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

⁸ See *S.E.G.*, III, no. 70; M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, pp. 184 f., note 180; E. Nachmanson, *Hist. Att. Inschr.*², no. 23; G. Colin, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.; A. Diller, *Race Mixture*, p. 110, note 44; F. Ferckel, *Lysias und Athen*, pp. 54 ff.; H. Friedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f.; J. Hatzfeld, *Rev. de Phil.*, XIII, 1939, p. 241, note 1. An Eleusinian inscription (Κ. Κουρουνηώτης, *Ἑλληνικά*, II, 1929, pp. 5 ff.), once thought to belong to this period and to refer to the same events, is certainly much older; see B. D. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 100 ff.

⁹ The objection that Thrasyboulos proposed Athenian citizenship also to slaves (an inaccurate interpretation of Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 40, 2) may be countered by a reference to the fact that even his promises (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 4, 25) provided only *ισοτέλεια* for the *ξένοι*, much less, therefore, for the slaves; compare A. Wilhelm, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, 202, Abh. 5, 1925, p. 9. Another objection is based on the assumption that Pythodoros' name must not be restored as that of the eponymous archon (*I.G.*, II², 10, line 2), because he held office only during the rule of the Thirty; compare G. Mathieu, *R.É.G.*, XL, 1927, p. 91, note 2. But the author of the *vita* of Lysias (Plutarch, *X Orat. Vit.*, p. 835 F) dates the proposal of Thrasyboulos in the time of the *ἀναρχία*, and Aristotle declares (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 41, 1) that the democracy was re-established in the archonship of Pythodoros; compare F. Ferckel, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.; Th. Lenschau, *loc. cit.*, col. 2357, 41 ff.

¹⁰ This date has been suggested by R. Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 32; A. Koerte, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, p. 396; A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, XXI/II, 1922/4, p. 166; W. S. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 375; H. T. Wade-Gery, *loc. cit.*, p. 74; G. Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹¹ This date has been suggested by W. Kolbe, *Klio*, XVII, 1921, pp. 246 f.; P. Foucart, *loc. cit.*, p. 348; F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *I.G.*, I², p. 301, 76 ff.; *Hist. Griech. Epigr.*, no. 61; G. Colin, *op. cit.*, p. 115; H. Friedel, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

In the same year and, as will be shown, in the same prytany belong the honorary decrees for the Samians (*I.G.*, II², 1, lines 41 ff.) and for a man from Boeotia (*I.G.*, II², 2; see the *addenda* on p. 655), who probably was active in support of Thrasyboulos.

The evidence concerning the honorary stele set up for the heroes of Phyle has here been reviewed because a considerable part of this document has been discovered in the Agora of Athens.

78. Three of the fragments have been known for several years;¹² these are referred to in the illustrations as Fragments *a*, *b*, and *c*. It appears from the photographs and from the restored drawing that Fragments *a* and *b* join, but this assumption has still to be verified by examination of the stones in Athens. The following two small fragments were assigned to the same monument by the excavators and by Meritt, but they have not yet been published; they join as shown in the restored drawing (Fig. 1).

Fragment *d*: Height, 0.098 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.026 m.; height of letters, 0.011 m. Inv. No. I 16 *b*. Broken on all sides; joins Frag. *e*. Found on May 29, 1935, in Section E, in loose filling inside the base to the east of the preserved column base of the Hellenistic Metroön; for this part of the building, see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 129, fig. 70.

Fragment *e*: Height, 0.04 m.; width, 0.022 m.; thickness, 0.034 m.; height of letter, 0.01 m. Inv. No. I 93. Broken on all sides; joins Frag. *d*. Found on July 15, 1931, in Section E, above the stelai laid over the drain.

It appears that all fragments were found immediately to the east of the complex of buildings one of which H. A. Thompson has identified with the Metroön; and it is known from Aischines that the stele was set up in the Metroön.¹³

The assumption that the fragments are part of the monument erected in honor of Thrasyboulos and his companions is based on the identification of the beginnings of the two elegiac couplets (lines 73-76) with the epigram quoted by Aischines. Additional proof is provided by the occurrence of the names of at least five men from the small deme of Phyle (lines 43-47), which indicates that the event that caused the erection of the monument took place at, or near, Phyle. The name of one of the leading

¹² They were published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 151 ff., no. 3; compare P. Roussel, *R.É.G.*, XLVII, 1934, p. 219, no. 3; M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, LV, 1935, p. 185, no. 3. For the place of their discovery, see T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 107; the building called "Stoa of Zeus" by Shear has later been identified with the east porch of the Metroön.

In preparing the present report I have enjoyed the constant help and advice of Meritt, who has kindly allowed me to use his note books. I wish also to acknowledge help received from T. L. Shear and O. Broneer.

¹³ See W. Kroll, *R.E.*, s. v. Metroön, cols. 1488 ff.; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 203 ff.; A. Rumpf, *Jahrbuch*, LIII, 1938, pp. 116 f.; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 148 ff.

	[Ο ἴ δ ε κ α τ α λ α β ό ν τ ε ς Φ υ λ] ἡ ν	
	[τ ò ν δ ῆ μ ο ν κ α τ ῆ γ α γ ο ν].	
	[Ἐρεχθίδος]	[Οἶνηίδος]
5	[-----]	[..... ²⁰] Ἀχαρνεύς
	[-----]	[..... ¹⁷] Ἀ]χαρνεύς 40
	[-----]	[..... ¹⁷] ο Ἀχαρνεύς
	[-----]	[..... ¹¹ Γ]λαυκίππο Λακιάδης
	[-----]	[..... ¹¹] ος Ἱερίο Φυλάσιος
10	[-----]	[..... ¹⁰] Ἀ]ντικράτος Φυλάσιος
	[-----]	[..... ¹¹] Εὐδήμο Φυλάσιος 45
	[-----]	[..... ¹²] δῆμο Φυλάσιος
	[-----]	[..... ¹⁴] ωνος Φυλάσι[ος]
	[Αἰγυγίδος]	[-----]
	[-----]	[Κεκροπίδος]
15	[-----]	[. .]μοκλ[-----] 50
	[-----]	Σμκύω[ν-----]
	[-----]	Εὐφορ[-----]
	[-----]	Σωφιλ[-----]
	[..... ²⁶]ς	Ἴπποθω[ντίδος]
20	[-----]	Ἀρχίνο[ς Μυρωνίδο ἐκ Κοίλης] 55
	[..... ¹⁸ Γαρ]γῆ[ττι]ος	Οἶνγί[δης-----]
	[..... ¹⁵ Γαργῆ]ττιος	Αἶαντ[ίδος]
	[Πανδιονίδος]	Ἀνδρο[-----]
	[Θρασύβολος Λύκο Στειρ]ιεύ[ς]	Εὐκλε[ι-----]
25	[..... ¹⁶ Π]αιαν[ιεύ]ς	[Τ]ιμο[-----] 60
	[..... ¹⁶]ωνίδο Πρ[οβα]λίσσιος	[Ἀντιοχίδος]
	[..... ¹⁵]μένος Μ[υρρι]νόσιος	[-----]
	[..... ¹⁵]δο Ἀγγ[ελῆθ]εν	Δ[..... ¹⁶]ι[-----]
	[..... ¹⁴]ο Κυθήρ[ριος]	Λυ[..... ¹² β]όλο Σ[ημαχίδης]
30	[Λεωντίδος]	Ἀν[..... ¹⁰ Μεσ]σηνί[ο-----] 65
	[..... ¹¹]γτο Παιον[ίδης]	Πόλ[ων Εἰτεαῖ]ος
	[..... ¹¹]φρονος Φ[ρεάρρι]ος	Κν[ίφων Ἀτην]εύς
	[Θεοκλῆς Λευ]κίο Σονι[εύς]	<i>vacat</i>
	[... ⁹] Διονυσί[ο-----]	Ἐ[λευθεράθεν]
35	[Ἀκαμαντί]δος	Π[-----] 70
	[... ⁷]ος Διοδώρ[ο-----]	[-----]
	[... κρ]άτης Τιμο[κλέος Εἰτεαῖ]ος	[-----]

Τού[σδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων]
 δῆμ[ος Ἀθηναίων οἱ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους]
 75 θε[σμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλεως πρῶτοι καταπαύεν]
 ἦρ[ξαν κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι].

403/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 81

[Ἔδοξ' ἐν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Πανδιονὶς ἐπρυτάνευε Ἀγύρριος Κολλυτεὺς ἐγγραμ-
 μάτευε Εὐκλείδης]

[ἦρχε] Κηφ[ισοφῶν Παιανιεύς ἐπεστάτε Ἀρχίνος εἶπε· -----]

[....]τη[-----]

80 [...]ον[-----]

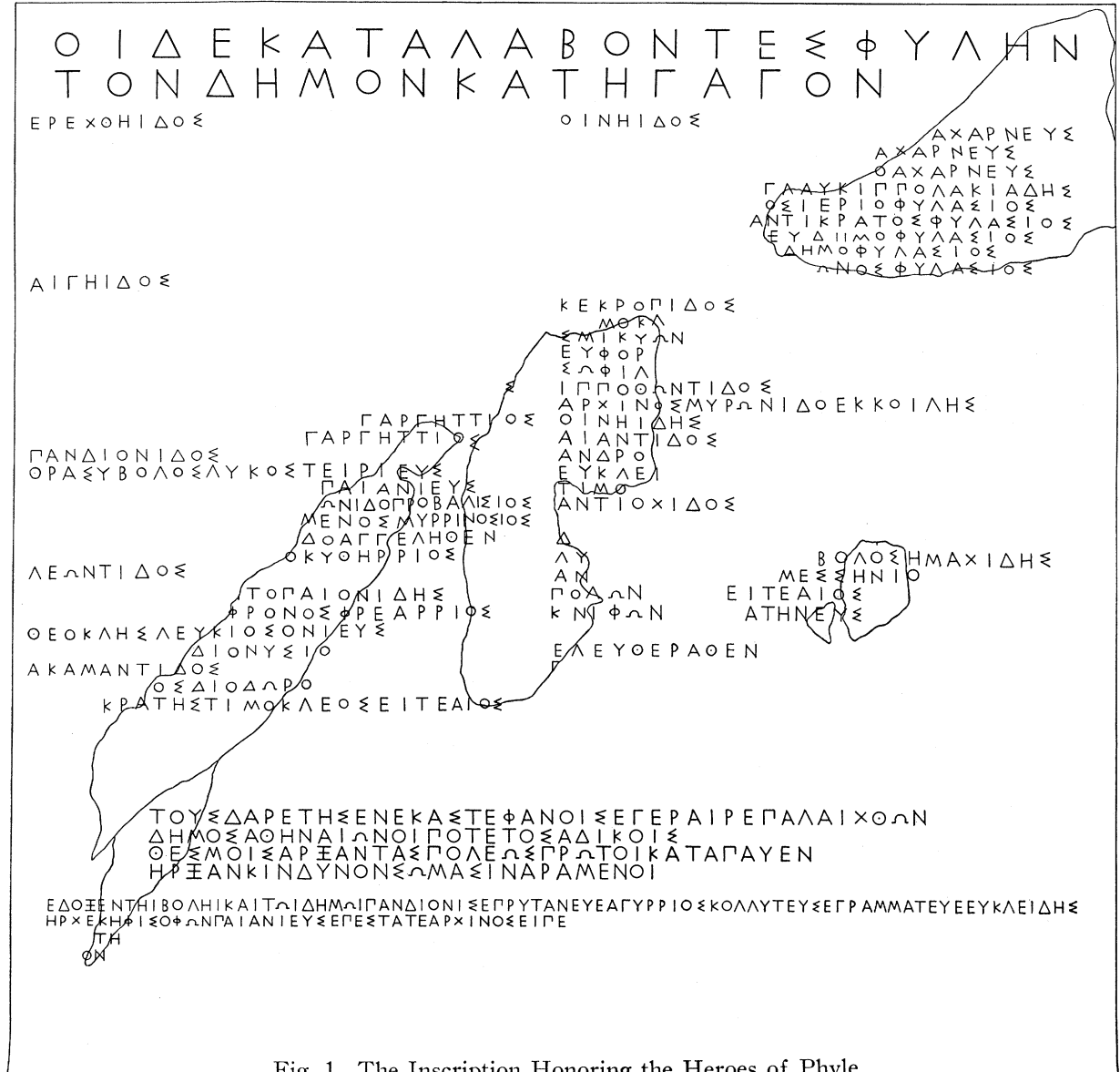
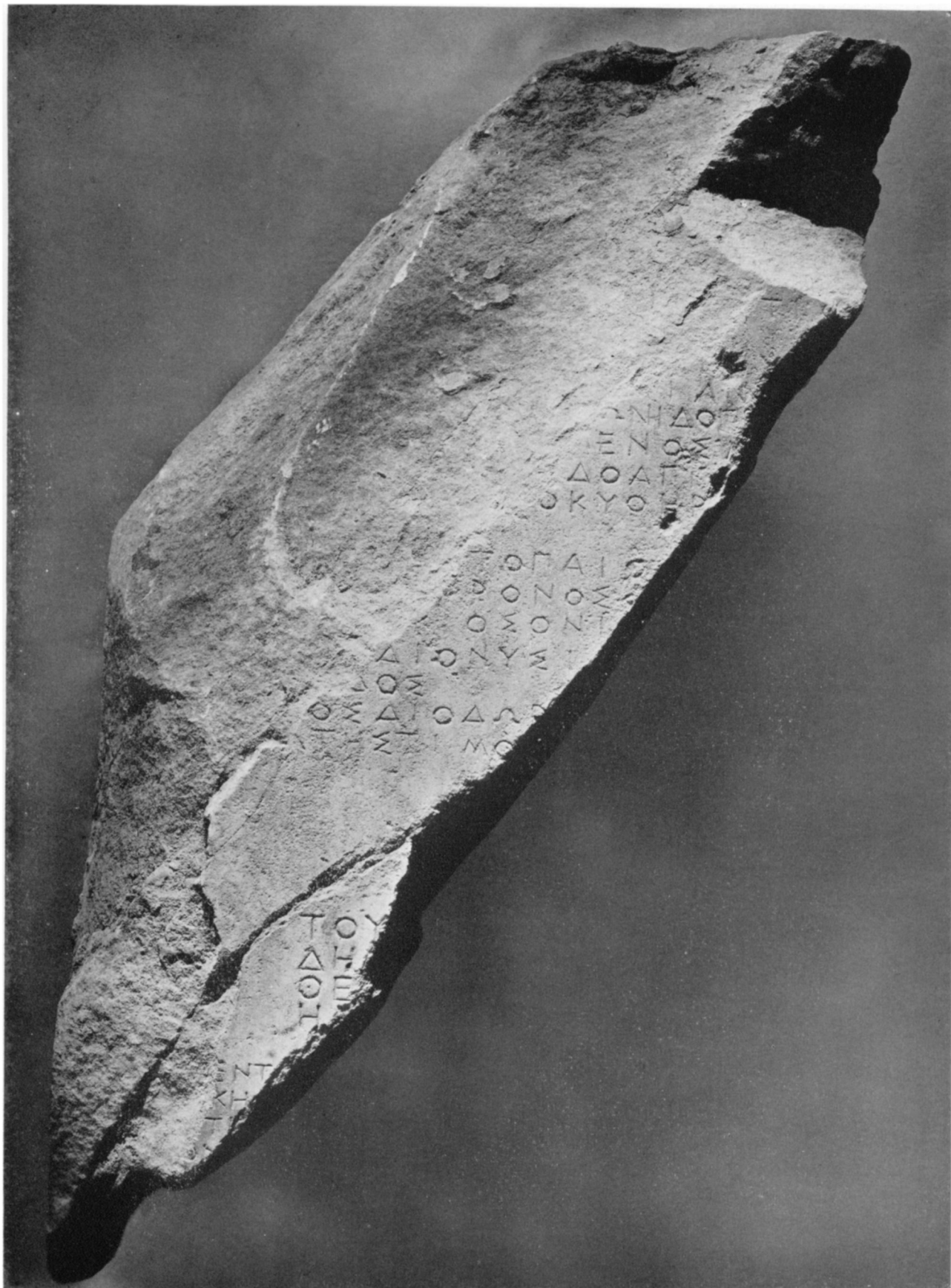


Fig. 1. The Inscription Honoring the Heroes of Phyle



No. 78. Fragment *a*

men, Archinos from Koile, can now readily be recognized as the first entry in the panel of his tribe Hippothontis (line 55), and the name of Thrasyboulos himself can easily be restored in the first place after the name of his tribe Pandionis (line 24).

Lines 1-2: The text of the heading is based on the assumption that the two preserved letters of the first line may be restored Φυλ]ήν; this accusative necessitates the addition of a verb rather than of a preposition (like ἐπί), and the phrase καταλαμβάνειν Φυλήν is so commonly used in the various historical accounts that the suggested restoration of the first line appears to be preferable to any other.¹⁴ It may be significant, moreover, that Aristophanes uses the phrase εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν κατέλαβες as a proverb.¹⁵ The restoration is determined also by the available space of approximately sixteen letters in front of Φυλ]ήν.¹⁶

Line 4: It is possible that the name of Agoratos, son of Eumares, from Anagyrous, was listed in the panel of the tribe Erechtheis.¹⁷

Line 14: Here may be restored the name of Θρασύβολος Θράσωνος Κολλυτεύς.¹⁸

Line 22: The restoration Γαργή]τιος has already been suggested by A. W. Gomme.¹⁹



No. 78. Fragment *b*

¹⁴ Compare Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 4, 2; Aischines, III, 187; Demosthenes, XXIV, 135; Diodoros, XIV, 32, 1.

¹⁵ *Plutus*, 1146; see the scholion on this line.

¹⁶ For the restoration of the second line, suggested by Meritt, compare Aischines, III, 190: τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν. The same phrase occurs also in III, 181 (οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες), but it may be noticed that Aischines declares here (III, 182): ἐπιδειξάτω τοῖνυν Δημοσθένης εἰ πον γέγραπται τινα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν στεφανῶσαι; later on, he himself refers to the crowns granted to the heroes of Phyle.

¹⁷ See Lysias, XIII, 77 ff.; A. Schweitzer, *Die 13. Rede des Lysias*, pp. 79 f.

¹⁸ See Demosthenes, XXIV, 134; R. Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 33, note 1; P. Cloché, *La restauration démocratique à Athènes*, p. 17; W. Schwahn, *loc. cit.*, col. 575, 12 ff.

¹⁹ In a letter to B. D. Meritt, dated July 2, 1934.

Line 24: The restoration of Thrasyboulos' name fits the available space which is determined by the tribal name in line 35.²⁰

Line 25: Here may be restored the name of Kephisophon from Paiania. Kephisophon was a member of the council under the archon Eukleides, and he was probably the man whom Thrasyboulos sent as envoy to Sparta.²¹

Line 33: For the restoration of this line, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 154 f.



No. 78. Fragment *c*

Line 37: For the restoration of this line, compare J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 13733.

Line 45: The father's name Εὐδήμος is written *in rasura*; the name that originally stood in its place cannot be read, but it contained one letter more than Εὐδήμος.

Line 48: Here could be restored the name of Atrometos from the deme Kothokidai, the father of the orator Aischines; it may be doubted, however, whether Atrometos' name occurred in this list.²²

²⁰ For Thrasyboulos, see R. Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 33, note 1; P. Cloché, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 f.; W. Schwahn, *loc. cit.*, cols. 568 ff.

²¹ Compare Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 4, 36; J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, nos. 8400 and 8416; W. Kroll, *R.E.*, s. v. Kephisophon, col. 240, 34 ff.; U. Kahrstedt, *R.E.*, s. v. Meletos, col. 503, 39 ff. Since Meletos was the envoy sent by τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἄστει ιδιώτας, Kephisophon must have been a prominent member of Thrasyboulos' party.

²² Compare J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 2681; P. Cloché, *op. cit.*, p. 17; G. Mathieu, *R.É.G.*, XL, 1927, p. 83, note 3.

Line 55: The name of Archinos from Koile can be restored with certainty; but the restoration of his father's name remains hypothetical.²³ The names of several other of Thrasyboulos' companions are known, but they cannot be placed with certainty in the preserved part of the name list: Aisimos, Anytos, Epikrates, Ergokles, Phormisios.²⁴

Line 56: Meritt has here restored the name *Οἰνῆ*[*δης*], although the spelling of this name is given by J. Kirchner (*P.A.*, nos. 11346 and 11347) as *Οἰνείδης*; but this spelling occurs once in a fifth-century inscription (*I.G.*, I², 324, line 82) which does not distinguish between epsilon and eta, and a second time in the third century of our era.²⁵

Lines 63-67: The placing of the two Fragments *d* and *c* presents considerable difficulty, and the suggested solution must not be considered final. The wider spacing of the lines on these fragments agrees only with the lower part of the name list, and enough is preserved of the left column to exclude the possibility that the fragments belong there. The restoration is based on the assumption that the last two lines (66 and 67) contain the ends of demotics which belong to the tribe Antiochis, while the letters of the two preceding lines (64 and 65) belong to proper names. The first preserved letter of line 65 (on Frag. *d*), read as part of a sigma, may possibly have been a zeta.



No. 78. Fragment *d*

Line 69: The one preserved letter of this line must not be restored as a proper name, but it was, as Meritt has observed, a caption. Meritt's restoration *ἐ*[*γγραφου*] would imply that the names that followed were those of metics.²⁶ But it is preferable to assume that this list contained only the names of Athenians. It has been suggested that Thrasyboulos' original group of seventy men was joined, immediately upon its arrival at Phyle, by about thirty more men who afterwards shared the honors with the first occupants of Phyle. The assumption

²³ Compare W. Judeich, *R.E.*, s. v. Archinos, cols. 540 f.; R. Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 33, note 1; J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 2526; P. Cloché, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 and 149 ff.; V. Ehrenberg, *R.E.*, s. v. Myronides, col. 1131, 56 ff.; *R.E.*, Suppl. VII, s. v. Myronides, col. 512, 34 ff.

²⁴ Compare R. Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 33, note 1; P. Cloché, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18 and 137-161.

²⁵ The restoration *Οἰνῆ*[*δος*] would certainly be wrong, although the name of Oineis occurs in this position in *I.G.*, II², 2369.

²⁶ For the meaning of *ἐγγραφου*, see S. Wenz, *Studien zu attischen Kriegergräbern*, p. 44; A. v. Domaszewski, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Heidelberg*, VIII, Abh. 7, 1917, pp. 16 f.; G. Smith, *Cl. Phil.*, XIV, 1919, pp. 358 f.; U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige*, p. 84.

that these thirty men came partly from Athens but mainly from the territory near Phyle is supported by the name list (lines 39-41 and 43-47) with its eight names of men who came from Phyle itself and from the nearby deme of Acharnai.²⁷ The suggested restoration of line 69 to 'Ε[λευθεράθεν] or 'Ε[λευθερεῖς] would imply that Thrasyboulos' group was joined also by several (probably three) men from Eleutherai which is near Phyle. Eleutherai was not an Attic deme, but its inhabitants must have been considered as Athenians.²⁸

It is quite obvious that this name list cannot originally have contained as many as a hundred names; yet the latter must be concluded from Aischines' statement that the gift of a thousand drachmas meant that each of those honored received a little less than ten drachmas. It is true that the preserved fragments do not join, and that it is uncertain how many names were listed in the panels of the tribes Oineis and Kekropis. Yet it is extremely unlikely that members of the tribes Erechtheis, Aigeis, Oineis, and Kekropis accounted for almost eighty names, while the remaining six tribes furnished only twenty-three. The present restoration assumes that not more than fifty-eight names were inscribed. It so happens that Pausanias, who may have seen the monument, reports (I, 29, 3) that Thrasyboulos left Thebes with only sixty followers. The restoration of the name list with only fifty-eight names makes it necessary to assume that the monument originally contained another (a second) list with the names of more than forty non-citizens who received the same honors but were separately listed. This second list may have been inscribed below the decree.

Lines 73-76: The restoration of the epigram is based on the text given by Aischines. No explanation can be offered for the spelling τού[σδ'] which contrasts to the spelling of omikron for omikron-epsilon in the rest of the inscription. Wade-Gery preferred the spelling πόλιος in line 75 (*J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 74), and it may be doubted whether ἐγέραυρε in line 73 should not also be changed to ἐγέραρε, as F. Blass has suggested. Wade-Gery pointed out that the use of the word ποτέ in line 74 indicates that the monument was erected a considerable time after the event to which it refers took place. This view has not been generally accepted, and in this particular

²⁷ See the interesting observations made by P. Cloché, *R.É.G.*, XXX, 1917, p. 400, concerning the occupations of the metics in Thrasyboulos' army. It may be significant, incidentally, that all but one (line 42) of the preserved demotics belong to non-city demes, and that only Thrasyboulos from Kollytos and Archinos from Koile come from city demes. The most populous demes of the tribes Akamantis and Hippothontis belong to the harbour area, and these tribes are represented each with only two members in the present list; for the composition of these tribes, see A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, pp. 60 and 63.

²⁸ Compare *I.G.*, I², 400, 537, and 943, line 96; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Hermes*, XXII, 1887, p. 242, note 2; L. Chandler, *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 9 f.; G. Lippold, *R.E.*, s. v. Myron, col. 1124, 3 ff.; U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige*, pp. 351 ff.; O. Walter, *Arch. Anz.*, 1940, cols. 171 ff.

case certainly not more than a year elapsed between the occupation of Phyle and the erection of the monument in honor of the heroes of Phyle.²⁹

Lines 77 ff.: The few letters which are preserved of these lines are all that is left of the decree in honor of Thrasyboulos and his first companions. It is known from Aischines that Archinos proposed this decree, and it has been suggested above that it belongs to the year 403/2 rather than to the year 401/0 B.C. The restoration is naturally uncertain, but it so happens that the required space is exactly filled by a prescript that would date the proposal in the same year and in the same prytany as *I.G.*, II², 1, lines 41 ff. Kephisophon from Paiania was a member of the council in that year, and he could have been the presiding officer only during the prytany of his tribe Pandionis. Not enough is preserved of the body of the decree to justify a restoration, but the main contents of the decree are known from the account of Aischines.³⁰

A few words may be added concerning the reliability of Aischines' report of the monuments set up in the Agora of Athens. It is true that no doubt has been cast so far on the correctness of his account of the honors granted to the heroes of Phyle, and the recovered monument confirms it in every detail. But Aischines did not fare so well with his quotation of the famous epigrams inscribed on the Kimonian herms (III, 183-185). A. von Domaszewski was probably the first to declare not only that two of these epigrams did not really exist on stone, but that they had to be substituted by two others; and he was followed by H. T. Wade-Gery and E. Löwy.³¹ Only L. Weber has energetically protested against this mistreatment of a good literary tradition.³² I think that Aischines can be trusted in view of his obviously accurate account of the honorary monument for the heroes of Phyle. One historian has recently claimed that the excavations of the past hundred years have added very little to our knowledge of antiquity. It cannot be denied, however, that the veracity of a great many of the literary accounts the reliability of which was questioned by philologists has been confirmed by archaeological discoveries.

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²⁹ For comments on the meaning of *ποτέ*, see L. Weber, *Hermes*, LII, 1917, pp. 551 f.; P. Friedländer, *Studi ital. di Fil. Class.*, N. S., XV, 1938, p. 97; W. Peek, *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson*, p. 100, note 1.

³⁰ Compare R. Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

³¹ See A. von Domaszewski, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Heidelberg*, V, Abh. 10, 1914, pp. 12 ff.; W. Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Plutarch und die griech. Biographie*, pp. 35-39; H. T. Wade-Gery, *J. H. S.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 82 f., 87 f., and 93 ff.; E. Löwy, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, 216, Abh. 4, 1937, pp. 25-30.

³² See L. Weber, *Philologus*, LXXIV, 1917, pp. 248 ff., 253, and 257 ff.; *Hermes*, LII, 1917, pp. 551 f.; *Hermes*, LVII, 1922, p. 377; *Rh. Mus.*, LXXV, 1926, pp. 45 ff., 295, note 1, and 325; *Solon und die attische Grabrede*, pp. 51 f.; compare also A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1934, p. 97; W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Athen*, I, pp. 67 f.; II, p. 153; W. Peek, *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson*, p. 105, note 1.